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mean. Moreover, they are essentially lowlanders from the southwest of Scotland. As Hanna puts it: "Nearly all the men of Scottish birth or descent who are renowned in history trace their family origin back to the western lowlands of Scotland, the district comprising the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, Dumfries, Wigtown, Kirkendbright, and Dumbarton."

Now, the people of Scotland, and particularly of this southwestern region, are essentially of the same race as the people of England—the north European. They are not, of course, purely Teutonic, but neither are the English. Both nationalities have an element of the older pre-Teutonic stock, misleadingly called Celtic. The only element in Great Britain that ever resembled the Celto-Slav or Alpine race of the continent, the so-called Round-Barrow men, disappeared as completely in the north as in the south. The Romans, contrary to Hanna's impression, left no appreciable trace in the stock of any part of Britain. There remain to consider of the older populations such elements as the Britons, the Cymræ, and the Picts and Scots. It is highly probable that these elements were mainly of the Nordic race or of a closely allied form. If they differed from the pure Nordic type, it was mainly in pigmentation. Then came the period of Scandinavian-Teutonic invasions lasting for a period of six hundred years and blending the different elements of the Nordic stock into what is on the whole the finest example of that race. This in a measure Hanna recognizes as regards the Scottish end of the process. His mistake is in regarding the English as more purely Teutonic than they really are, and thus in contrasting them sharply with the Scotch. So far as there is any difference, it is one of degree rather than of kind, and is certainly a minor variation well within the limits of essential race-unity.

C. C. C.

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*Poverty*: A Study of Town Life. By B. SEEBOHM ROWNTREE.

London: The Macmillan Co., 1901. 8vo, pp. xviii + 437.

THIS volume is another valuable addition to that small sum of knowledge the world now possesses concerning poverty. We are just beginning to know what poverty is, its causes and its extent. Of theories there have been enough, but of facts there have been almost nothing worthy the name until Charles Booth began his work. It was epoch-making, all said at the time, and Rowntree's volume shows the truth of this remark. Both books are rich with fact. Mr. Rowntree,

having the advantage of the lines laid down by the former, has been able to do an even better piece of work. While Mr. Booth's study of the *Life and Labor of the People* in all its forms includes the wider survey of conditions in London than the smaller book attempts to do for York, the scope of this inquiry is by no means restricted because the central feature of the study, namely, poverty, has supplied the volume with a name.

It would be difficult to imagine a work more carefully done than this. The material collected was a manageable lot which has obviously been sifted carefully, so that only the facts worth knowing are given. The effort has been to make a statement of what has actually been seen. The author offers no cure for the evil, he makes no argument for any particular reform, he is apparently free from bias and prejudice. He is not even a political economist—at least if he is he does not permit you to discover it. He is a steadfast observer who has faithfully followed Charles Booth and improved upon him.

The object of the investigation, the author says in the introduction, "was, if possible, to throw some light upon the conditions which govern the life of the wage-earning classes in provincial towns, and especially upon the problems of poverty." This object he explains further by these questions :

What was the true measure of poverty in the city, both in extent and depth? How much of it was due to insufficiency of income and how much to improvidence? How many families were sunk in poverty so acute that their members suffered from a chronic insufficiency of food and clothing? Where physical deterioration coupled with a high death-rate ensued, was it possible to estimate such results with approximate accuracy?

The city chosen for the purpose of making this inquiry was York, having in the year 1901 a population of 77,793 people. A house-to-house inquiry, extending to the whole of the working-class population, was undertaken. Information was obtained concerning the general characteristics of York, the social and economic condition of the wage-earning class, the standard of life, including careful studies of the working people divided into several classes, and concerning the poverty line, showing the point below which people were unable to obtain enough to give physical efficiency. In addition, a study was made of the immediate causes of poverty. An interesting inquiry into the housing conditions was carried out, careful family budgets were prepared, showing the expenditure and diet of the working class of the various groups, and the relation of poverty to the standard of

health was made clear. Following this, the summary and conclusion, together with several supplementary chapters on a variety of subjects, end the report. Having ascertained the combined family income of every wage-earning family in York, Mr. Rowntree divides them into four classes, according to the amount of income. To these wage-earning classes he adds three more—the servant-keeping class, those in public institutions, and the female domestic-servant class. Graphic pictures of the standard of life in each of the first four classes are given from the investigators' notebooks.

After giving a statement of the various standards of living in these classes, Mr. Rowntree continues to the next step. He shows the number of families living in poverty, and divides them into two sections: first, families whose total earnings are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency. Poverty falling under this head may be described as primary poverty. Second, families whose total earnings would be sufficient for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency were it not that some portion of it is absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful. Poverty falling under this head may be described as secondary poverty. Of course, in order to find the poverty line below which these classes fall, it was necessary, not only to obtain the total family income, but it was also essential to estimate the minimum necessary expenditure for the maintenance of merely physical health. These are discussed fully under three heads—food, house rent, and household sundries, such as clothing, light, fuel, etc. To find a standard diet presented great difficulties. Mr. Rowntree has examined most closely into the investigations made by Professor W. O. Atwater, of this country, Dr. Noel Patton and Dr. Dunlop, in Scotland. Vogt and his followers, of the Munich school, were also examined, and the studies of Moleschott and Playfair, although several years old and based upon inadequate information, were given consideration. Finally, Professor Atwater's standard for men with ordinary muscular work was adopted. This standard requires 3,500 calories of energy value and 125 grams of protein per man per day. In selecting this standard it was borne in mind that the section of the wage-earners living near the poverty line is composed mainly of laborers, to whom the bulk of heavy work is allocated. The wives and children have usually also hard labor of certain kinds to perform. The standard required for women and children was measured in equivalents of those of the man, and expressed in the common unit. Thus, the nutrient required for

families of varying sizes was easily compared. Whatever criticism may be made of the standards used by the author, they were the best that present dietary science furnishes, and cannot be said to be too high. The standard adopted was, as he clearly shows, less generous than that required by the local government board for able-bodied paupers in the workhouse. It excluded all butchers' meat. The prices refer solely to the cost of food material. They include none of the necessary expenses connected with cooking. To these other estimates, rent and household sundries were added. As a result of this careful estimate of these actual necessities of life, the minimum weekly expenditure for a family—father, mother, and three children—if this standard were maintained, was estimated at 21 s. In this expenditure it may be said again is included only that which is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of a merely physical efficiency. Mr. Rowntree says :

Let us clearly understand what merely "physical efficiency" means. A family living upon the scale allowed for in this estimate must never spend a penny on railway fare or omnibus. They must never go into the country unless they walk. They must never purchase a halfpenny newspaper or spend a penny to buy a ticket for a popular concert. They must write no letters to absent children, for they cannot afford to pay the postage. They must never contribute anything to their church or chapel, or give any help to a neighbor which costs them money. They cannot save, nor can they join sick club or trade union, because they cannot pay the necessary subscriptions. The children must have no pocket money for dolls, marbles, or sweets. The father must smoke no tobacco, and must drink no beer. The mother must never buy any pretty clothes for her children, the character of the family wardrobe, as for the family diet, being governed by the regulation, "Nothing must be bought but that which is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of physical health, and what is bought must be of the plainest and most economical description." Should a child fall ill, it must be attended by the parish doctor; should it die, it must be buried by the parish. Finally, the wage-earner must never be absent from his work for a single day.

With these standards as a basis it was found that 15.46 per cent. of the wage-earning classes of York and 9.91 per cent. of the whole population of the city, lived in a state of primary poverty; that is, a state where their earnings, even when most carefully and wisely used, would not furnish them sufficient food and other necessities of life to keep up a state of physical health.

The number of those in secondary poverty was arrived at by ascertaining the total number of those living in poverty, and subtracting those living in primary poverty. Investigators, in the course of their house-to-house visit-

ing, noted those families who are obviously living in a state of poverty; that is, in obvious want and squalor. Sometimes they obtained definite information that the bulk of earnings was spent in drink or otherwise squandered. Sometimes the external evidences of poverty were so clear as to make verbal evidence unnecessary. In this way 20,302 persons, or 27.84 per cent. of the total population, were returned as living in poverty.

There is a striking similarity between this statement for York and the one Mr. Booth made for London. Mr. Booth estimated that 30.7 per cent. of the total population of London were living in poverty. The figures may be safely compared, Mr. Rowntree says. It is significant, perhaps, also in making this comparison to see that when Mr. Booth's figures were gathered, it was a period of only average trade prosperity, while the York figures were gathered in 1899, when trade was unusually prosperous. Mr. Rowntree says :

We have been accustomed to look upon poverty in London as exceptional, but when the result of careful investigation shows that the proportion of poverty in London is practically equal in what may be regarded as a typical provincial town, we are faced by the startling probability that from 25 per cent. to 30 per cent. of the town population of the United Kingdom are living in poverty.

As Mr. Rowntree shows, this poverty has certain results of a most serious kind on the people of these poorer sections of our cities. He shows that the low wages and the lack of nourishment are abetted by insanitary housing and general outside conditions. In a way, the poor of York seem by this series of conditions to be chained to their poverty. Yet York has no tenement-house problem. Nearly every family lives in a separate house. But York has its slums, with the accompanying conditions of overcrowding, dirt, inadequate closet and water commodities, and bad ventilation. Nine and three-tenths per cent. of the total houses of the city and about 12 per cent. of those occupied by the working classes, are back-to-back houses. It is well known that these houses are far worse than the rear tenements of this country, for their arrangement precludes any possibility of thorough ventilation. A significant statement of Mr. Rowntree shows that poverty and bad housing go together. Of the 633 families that are living in overcrowded conditions, Mr. Rowntree says that no less than 627, or 94.5 per cent., are in poverty, either primary or secondary. The effects of overcrowding are shown in an especially striking manner. Quotations are made for the sake of comparison with conditions prevailing in London. In order to see all the evil effects of overcrowding in bed-

rooms, an investigation was made of 480 houses in the working-class districts on a certain night, when the outside temperature was 50 degrees Fahrenheit. As a result it was found that only 5 per cent. of the houses had open windows, the percentage being only this high by reason of the fact that certain of the better classes of dwellings were included in the inquiry. In the very poorest, only 3 per cent. of the windows in the house were opened.

Considering the relation of poverty to the standard of health, certain striking information is given concerning the results of underfeeding, overcrowding, and the other associated evils of poverty. A study of the vital statistics of the city shows an amazing difference in the death rate between the very poor and that of the high classes. Mr. Rowntree measures the variation in the physical well-being of the people by their death-rate. He divides the districts of York into three classes, according to their condition :

1. The poorest, 27.78 deaths per annum per 1,000 of population.
  2. The middle, 20.71 deaths per annum per 1,000 of population.
  3. The highest, 13.49 deaths per annum per 1,000 of population.
- The whole of York, 18.5 deaths per annum per 1,000 of population.

The mortality of children under five shows practically the same variation. The birth-rate in the better sections he shows also is far higher than the birth-rate in the lowest section. One may surely conclude, from the mass of Mr. Rowntree's facts, that the extremely large number of children born only to die before reaching childhood is but a small indication of the evil. Those surviving are in many cases doomed to inferiority. The results of a physical examination of 1,919 children, show that the average height of the boys when they leave school at the age of thirteen is less by three and one-half inches in the poorest section, than in the better section of the community. The difference in their weight in the same period is no less than 11 pounds. In the schedules, the large number of children classed as in a bad physical condition implies that the children have physical traces of underfeeding and neglect.

Mr. Rowntree draws several conclusions from his facts concerning the undervalued and underfed portions of the community. He shows that this matter is at the very basis of the industrial future of England. He shows clearly, too, that a nation in which from 25 to 35 per cent. of its working people are constantly underfed, and whose health is continuously undermined by insanitary conditions, cannot stand the

test in the struggle for its share of the world's markets. Speaking of America, he quotes Benjamin Kidd as follows :

At present our most highly equipped and therefore most formidable competitors are our cousins across the Atlantic. America is commercially formidable, not only because of her gigantic enterprise and almost illimitable resources, but because, as recent investigations have shown, her workers are better nourished and possess a relatively higher efficiency.

Most students of poverty find it necessary to say something concerning the causes, and in this Mr. Rowntree is no exception. He has, however, kept free from some of the ordinary faults of writers on this subject by speaking of the causes worked out by him as immediate ones. His summary of the causes are as follows :

	Per cent.
1. Death of chief wage-earner - - - - -	15.63
2. Illness or old age of chief wage-earner - - - - -	5.11
3. Chief wage-earner out of work - - - - -	2.31
4. Irregularity of work - - - - -	2.83
5. Largeness of family (more than four children) - - - - -	22.16
6. In regular work but at low wages - - - - -	51.96
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	100.00

Half of those in poverty are classified under the last statement. They are almost altogether unskilled workers. Their poverty is not immediately due to drunkenness or vice. The fact is that their income will not enable them to provide the necessities of life. It is to be regretted that these figures cannot be compared with the American ones on the same subject ; but the classification under which the causes of poverty are registered by American students is so much more complex that no comparison really is possible. There is little to be said about any such statement of the causes of poverty. One who has tried to determine the causes of poverty in poor families whom he has known for years realizes that it is almost impossible to come to any satisfactory conclusion. Whether or not we should have less poverty if all people were well, if there were no drunkenness, and if the chief wage-earner never died, is a debatable question. To my mind there has been no satisfactory study made of the causes of poverty. Those studying the immediate causes speak little of the social and industrial causes, and those observing the general trend of social and industrial progress rarely have anything to say upon the immediate causes. The best thing in this chapter of Mr. Rowntree is a statement of the



alternating periods of want and plenty through which the laborer passes. Concerning this matter, he says :

The life of a laborer is marked by five alternating periods of want and comparative plenty. During early childhood, unless his father is a skilled worker, he probably will be in poverty ; this will last until he, or some of his brothers or sisters, begin to earn money and thus augment their father's wage sufficiently to raise the family above the poverty line. Then follows the period during which he is earning money and living under his parent's roof ; for some portion of this period he will be earning more money than is required for food and lodging and clothes. This is his chance to save money. If he has saved enough to pay for furnishing a cottage, this period of comparative prosperity may continue after marriage until he has two or three children, when poverty will again overtake him. This period of poverty will last perhaps for ten years, *i. e.*, until the first child is fourteen years old and begins to earn wages ; but if there are more than three children it may last longer. While the children are earning, and before they leave the home to marry, the man enjoys another period of prosperity—possibly, however, only to sink back again into poverty when his children have married and left him, and he himself is too old to work, for his income has never permitted his saving enough for him and his wife to live upon for more than a very short time.

A laborer is thus in poverty, and therefore underfed, (*a*) in childhood—when his constitution is being built up ; (*b*) in early middle life—when he should be in his prime ; (*c*) in old age.

Miss Addams, who has already criticised the attitude of the ordinary charity visitor, holds well-grounded views upon the advantages of early marriages. In this study of Mr. Rowntree it is shown that it is wise for the ordinary working man to marry early, since at an age of thirty-five years or thereabout his income is sure to decrease and he will need the support of his children at that time.

The book is well worth reading by all students of social and industrial conditions. While it is of special importance to England, it is of utmost significance to us. Until we have had like studies for this country, no real comparison between our conditions and those existing in England can be made. But now that London has had such an inquiry, and it has been followed by one in York, we can hope for a like work to be done in this country before many years have passed.

ROBERT HUNTER.